

rigid formation but looked grim and suspicious. Introducing me, the chairman stressed that the committee was in agreement with me on military matters. I began by saying I had a dual task—to learn what the situation in the regiment was and to find out what could be done to improve its relations with the rest of the army. I had heard ugly rumors about the Novo-Ladoga Regiment as a bunch of Communists, cowards, and traitors. But, after a frank talk with the regimental committee, I was satisfied these rumors were based on misinterpretation of the regiment's resolution about joining the Bolshevik party. Obviously this was an error. The men had voted with their hands, rather than with hearts and brains. They did not realize that by this resolution they seemed to be betraying their country, renouncing allegiance to the army, and becoming moral lepers in the eyes of other soldiers.

There was some movement of protest among the soldiers. The chairman whispered to me, "Tell them about the Petrograd garrison." I told the story and moved the resolution: "The regiment declares that it is a part of the Russian army, ready to defend the country and revolution in conformity with the orders of the government and the All-Russian Executive Committee and the platform accepted by all revolutionary organizations of the army."

The chairman asked permission to introduce an amendment: "The regiment protests against rumors about its treasonable intentions." With this addition, the resolution was accepted unanimously. When the chairman announced the result of the vote, the men shouted "Hurrah!"

After the meeting the division commander and I went to the car surrounded by a cheerful crowd of soldiers. Some shouted, "Good luck, Comrade Commissar!" The division commander was flabbergasted. "I cannot grasp the trick," he said. "You called them traitors, cowards, and I don't know what else. They would have killed me if I had spoken that way, but they took it from you. How did you manage it?"

"I didn't tell them that they were bad," I replied. "I only said that that was how they *looked* to other enlisted men. Then I showed them how they could improve their reputation without losing face. Thus they felt I had come to help them. Weren't they right?"

"I'll be damned," said the commander. "Probably this is another piece of the psychology our new commander of the army talks about. It isn't the way we were taught to run our outfit."

On August 12 a conference of all revolutionary organizations of the Twelfth Army and local workers convened in the city theater. After a proper introduction, I moved the resolution:

"1. Fraternalization with the enemy is an act of treason. The cul-